

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-05  
AID-05 ARA-10 EA-10 /111 W  
-----054455 251709Z /43

O 251259Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3252

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 9695

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

FROM USDEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, US, UN

SUBJECT: LAGOS CONFERENCE: AUGUST 24 PLENARY

REF: (A) LAGOS 9619, (B) LAGOS 9620

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1. SUMMARY: PLENARY SESSION DELEGATES WERE SUBJECTED TO 36 SPEECHES AUGUST 24, NEARLY ALL OF THEM REFLECTING PREDICTABLE NATIONAL POSITIONS. WHILE CRITICISM OF WESTERN ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WAS CONSTANT, IT COULD HAVE BEEN WORSE. EASTERN BLOC SPEECHES WERE RELATIVELY MUTED. CHINESE VITRIOL WAS DIRECTED AGAINST SOVIET UNION. EXCEPT FOR PLO AND IRAQ, ARAB SPEAKERS, WHILE CRITICIZING ISRAEL/SOUTH

AFRICA LINKS, DID NOT MAKE MAJOR EFFORT TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH APARTHEID. EC-9 COUNTRIES BROKE RANKS OVER THE ISSUE OF A CHAPTER VII FINDING. AFRICAN SPEAKERS CONCENTRATED ON EVILS OF APARTHEID AND IMPORTANCE OF ENDING WESTERN SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

2. REPRESENTATIVES FROM 33 COUNTRIES (10 AT CABINET LEVEL), PLON ICFTU AND ONE NGO SPOKE TO CONFERENCE PLENARY SESSION AUGUST 24. SOVIET REP (SOEGIREV) TERMED POTENTIAL SAG NUCLEAR TEST THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. HE SAID SOVIET UNION WAS PREPARED TO DO ALL THAT IT COULD, IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, KEEP SOUTH AFRICA FROM GAINING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE CONDEMNED ISRAEL'S COMPLICITY WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN NUCLEAR COOPERATION AND ARMS SALES. HE PRAISED THE SOVIET RECORD OF BACKING STRUGGLES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE. BOTH TONE AND CONTENT OF SOVIET REMARKS WERE RELATIVELY MODERATE. ONLY ISRAEL WAS SINGLED OUT FOR CRITICISM AND THERE WAS NEAR TOTAL ABSENCE OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST RHETORIC.

3. CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER PEOLI CHARGED THAT NATO HAD SELECTED SOUTH AFRICA AS A CONTINGENCY BASE BECAUSE OF ITS STABILITY AND MINERAL WEALTH. HE WARNED AGAINST THE FORMATION OF A "SOUTH ATLANTIC PACT" AMONG THE US, SOUTH AFRICAN AND REACTIONARY LATIN AMERICAN REGIMES. HE CRITICIZED THE US AS SOUTH AFRICA'S CHIEF ARMS SUPPLIER, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH THIRD COUNTRIES. THE WEST'S GREAT STAKE IN SOUTH AFRICA, HE SAID, EXPLAINED ITS SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID. HE CRITICIZED ISRAELI AND FRENCH LINKS  
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WITH SOUTH AFRICA, CHARGING THAT FRENCH ASSISTANCE HAD ALLOWED SOUTH AFRICA TO BUILD UP HER NUCLEAR CAPABILITY.

4. CHINESE REP (FENG) BARELY MENTIONED THE EVILS OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA IN HIS HASTE TO ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH HE TERMED "EVEN MORE SINISTER AND CUNNING" THAN WESTERN POWERS IN ITS "WILD AMBITION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY." HE ACCUSED RUSSIA OF UNDERMINING NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA, DELIBERATELY SOWING DISSENT AMONG THEM, AND USING ITS SUPPORT AND AID TO CONTROL THEM. IN APPARENT REFERENCE TO CUBANS AND KATANGES IN ANGOLA, HE ACCUSED THE SOVIETS OF ORGANIZING MERCENARIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF "CRUDE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES."

5. PLO REP (TERZI) DELIVERED A SELF-SERVING ATTACK ON ISRAEL, CALLING FOR THE ABOLITION OF "RACIST, COLONIAL REGIMES IN BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND PALESTINE." HE SAID ISRAEL WAS NOT REPRESENTED IN LAGOS BECAUSE IT PRACTICED BOTH APARTHEID, WHICH WAS THE SAME AS ZIONISM, AS WELL AS ITS OWN BRAND OF BANTUSTANIZATION. HE CRITICIZED ISRAELI/SOUTH AFRICAN LINKS, ESPECIALLY IN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. HE CALLED ON THE CONFERENCE TO PROCLAIM A "HOLY" ALLIANCE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO CRUSH RACISM IN BOTH SOUTH AFRICA

AND PALESTIN."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 9695

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FROM USDEL

6. WHILE IRAQI REP MORE OR LESS SECONDED PLO REMARKS,  
REPS FROM EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA CONCENTRATED THEIR REMARKS ON  
AFRICA, MENTIONING ISRAEL ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF CRITICIZING  
COOPERATIVE LINKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA.

7. ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE TOLD DELEGATES IT WAS FOOLISH  
TO THINK THAT WESTERN POWERS WOULD EVER ASSIST IN DISMANTLING  
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APARTHEID. HE CRITICIZED THOSE "WHO NOW PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS BUT SUPPORT FASCIST AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA." IN REFERENCE TO UNITA, HE ACCUSED SOUTH AFRICA OF TRYING TO OCCUPY ANGOLA WITH ITS PUPPETS. HE REITERATED AN EARLIER CHARGE BY SEAN MCBRIDGE (LAGOS 4619) THAT THE FRG WAS SETTING UP A "MISSILE FACILITY" IN ZAIRE WHICH COULD BE USED FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE AGGRESSION AGAINST ANGOLA.

8. TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER (MKAPA), IN DESCRIBING ARMS AND ECONOMIC LINKS, CALLED WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA "ACCOMPLICES" OF APARTHEID. HE NOTED SIGNS THAT WESTERN ATTITUDES APPEARED NOW TO BE CHANGING AND EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION.

9. SUDAN REP (EL KHIDIR), SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES HAD CREATED OPPORTUNITIES TO FIGHT APARTHEID. HE SAID THAT THE NEXT ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD IN U.S. TO SHOW AMERICANS THE TERRIBLE HUMAN COSTS OF PROFITS FROM SOUTH AFRICA. THE GOODWILL OF MANY AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY OF 30 MILLION BLACK AMERICANS, COULD HELP SUPPORT ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS BY PROMOTING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ECONOMIC INVESTMENT AND THE APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS. ANOTHER CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING EFFORT SHOULD BE LAUNCHED IN EUROPE AND EVEN IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF WHERE THE COMMON WHITE MAN, "WHO IS ALSO A VICTIM OF APARTHEID," SHOULD BE CONVINCED THAT HIS FUTURE LIES WITH AFRICA. SUDAN REP ALSO NOTED SUDANESE ASSISTANCE IN TRAINING GUERILLA FIGHTERS. HE CALLED FOR INVESTIGATIONS OF NATO/SOUTH AFRICAN TIES AND POSSIBLE ISRAELI SUPPLY OF ENRICHED URANIUM TO SOUTH AFRICA. TO PRESERVE SOME ARAB CREDENTIALS, SUDAN REP PUT ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA IN SOME RACIST BAG.

10. IN A CONVINCING SHOW OF EC-9 FRIABILITY, IRISH, DUTCH AND DANISH REPS ALL BROKE EC-9 RANKS AND CALLED FOR CHAPTER VII FINDING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, FOR EITHER AN ARMS EMBARGO, CONFIDENTIAL

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ECONOMIC SANCTIONS OR BOTH. ALL THREE EXPRESSED EXPLICIT OPPOSITION OF THEIR NATIONS TO APARTHEID AND NOTED STEPS THEY HAD ALREADY TAKEN TO OPPOSE IT. IN RATHER FEEBLE RESPONSE TO ANOTHER MCBRIDGE CHARGE, ITALIAN REP (VINCI) DESCRIBED RECENT EFFORTS BY GOI TO TIGHTEN CONTROLS OVER ARMS EXPORTS.

COMMENT: WHILE WEO'S PREDUCTABLY TOOK THEIR LICKS TODAY, CRITICISMS OF WESTERN SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WHILE CONSTANT, WERE NOT AS SHARP AS THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN. IN PARTICULAR, SOVIETS SHOWED RESTRAINT, OBVIOUSLY PREFERRING NOT TO USE LAGOS

FORUM FOR PROPAGANDA OPPORTUNITIES.

11. SIMILARLY, EXCEPT FOR PLO AND IRAQ, ARABS DID NOT MAKE STRONG EFFORT TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH PARTHEID. IRANIAN DELEGATE TOLD DELOFFS THAT ARABS HAD BEEN PRESSURED BY AFRICAN MODERATES TO HOLD THEIR FIRE IN AN EFFORT TO SECURE WEO SUPPORT FOR CONFERENCE RESULTS.

12. DUTCH, IRISH AND DANISH SUPPORT FOR CHAPTER VII FINDING CAME AS A SURPRISE TO SOME, THOUGH THEIR POSITION WAS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR VIEWS AS RECENTLY EXPRESSED IN UN. GERMANS IN PARTICULAR WERE UPSET AT WHAT THEY VIEWED AS DEPLORABLE BREAKING OF EC-9 RANKS ON A SUBJECT ON WHICH THEY (GERMANS) THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN AGREEMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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